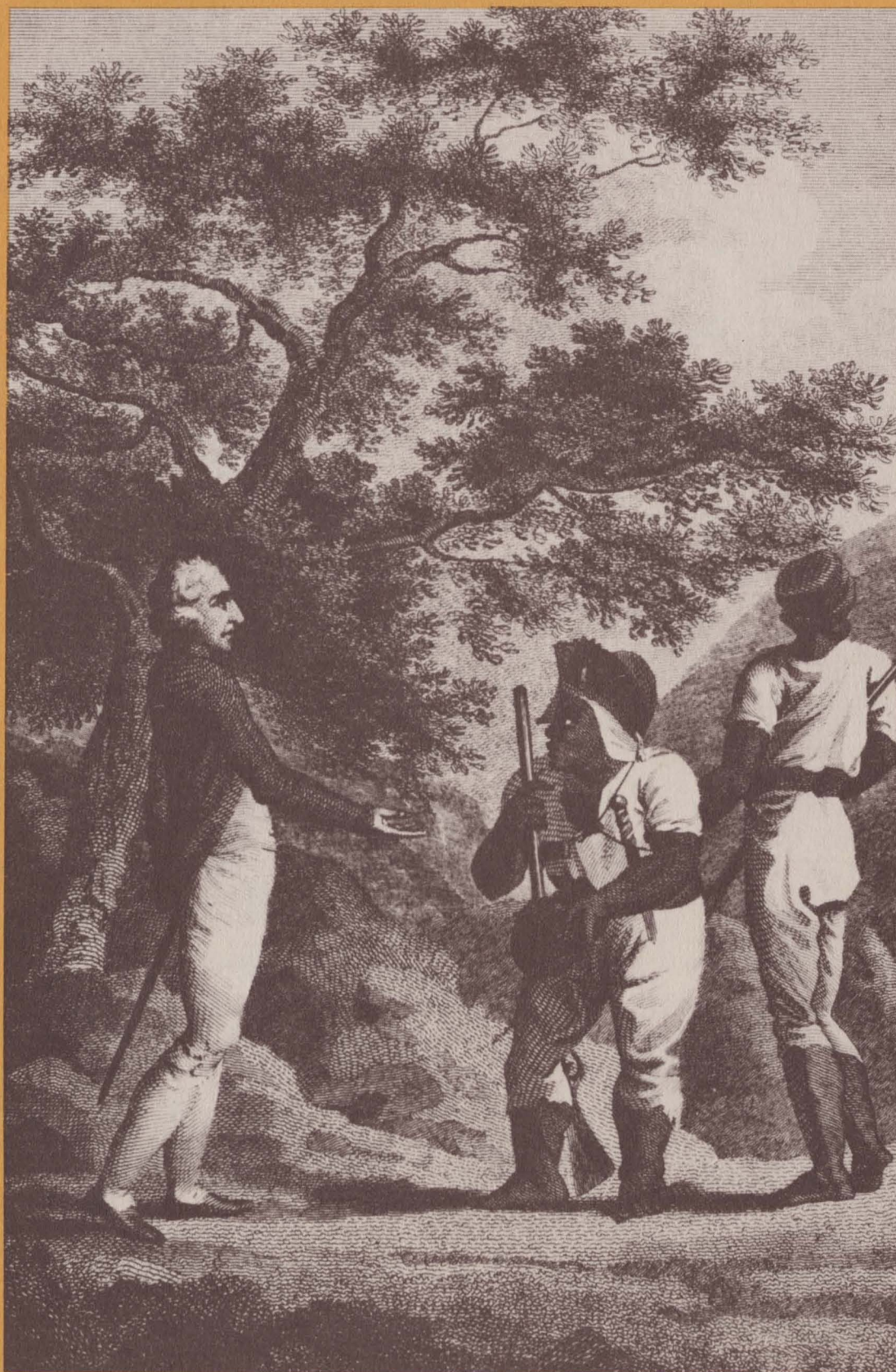
Recorded and Annotated by KENNETH M. BILBY,

ETHNIC FOLKWAYS RECORDS FE 4027

MUSIC OF THE MAROONS OF JAMAICA

"OLD CUDJOE MAKING PEACE" ENGRAVING BY JOSEPH SMITH, FROM ROBERT CHARLES DALLAS, "HISTORY OF THE MAROONS" 1803

COVER DESIGN BY RONALD CLYNE

ETHNIC FOLKWAYS RECORDS FE 4027

SIDE 1:

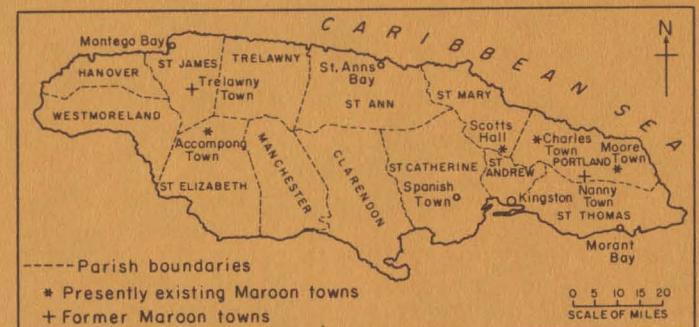
MOORE TOWN
1. Abeng 0:55
2. Jawbone 1:35
3. Jawbone 1:40
4. Jawbone 2:50
5. Sa Leone 1:40
6. Tambu 1:45
7. Tambu 1:45
8. Mandinga / John Thomas 1:05
9. Mandinga / Tambu 2:00
10. Mandinga 2:05
11. Prapa 1:05
12. Ibo 1:40
13. Ibo 1:45

SIDE 2:

MOORE TOWN (Continued)
1. Drum Language 0:25
2. Drum Language 1:05
3. Kromanti (Country) 1:35
4. Kromanti (Country) 1:35

CHARLES TOWN
5. Recreational Song 1:20
6. Kromanti 0:55

SCOTT'S HALL
7. Mandinga 2:05
8. Mandinga 1:10
9. Mandinga 1:25
10. Kromanti 1:00

ACCOMPONG
11. Kromanti 0:55
12. Solo Song 0:30
13. Processional Music 5:00

Map of Jamaica showing parish boundaries and locations of the major Maroon settlements.

43 W. 61st ST., N.Y.C., 10023 N.Y., U.S.A.

MUSIC OF THE MAROONS OF JAMAICA

Recorded and Annotated by KENNETH M. BILBY,
THE JOHN HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ARE INSIDE POCKET

ETHNIC FOLKWAYS RECORDS FE 4027

FOLKWAYS RECORDS Album No. FE 4027

Music of the Maroons of Jamaica

Recorded and Annotated by Kenneth M. Bilby
The Johns Hopkins University

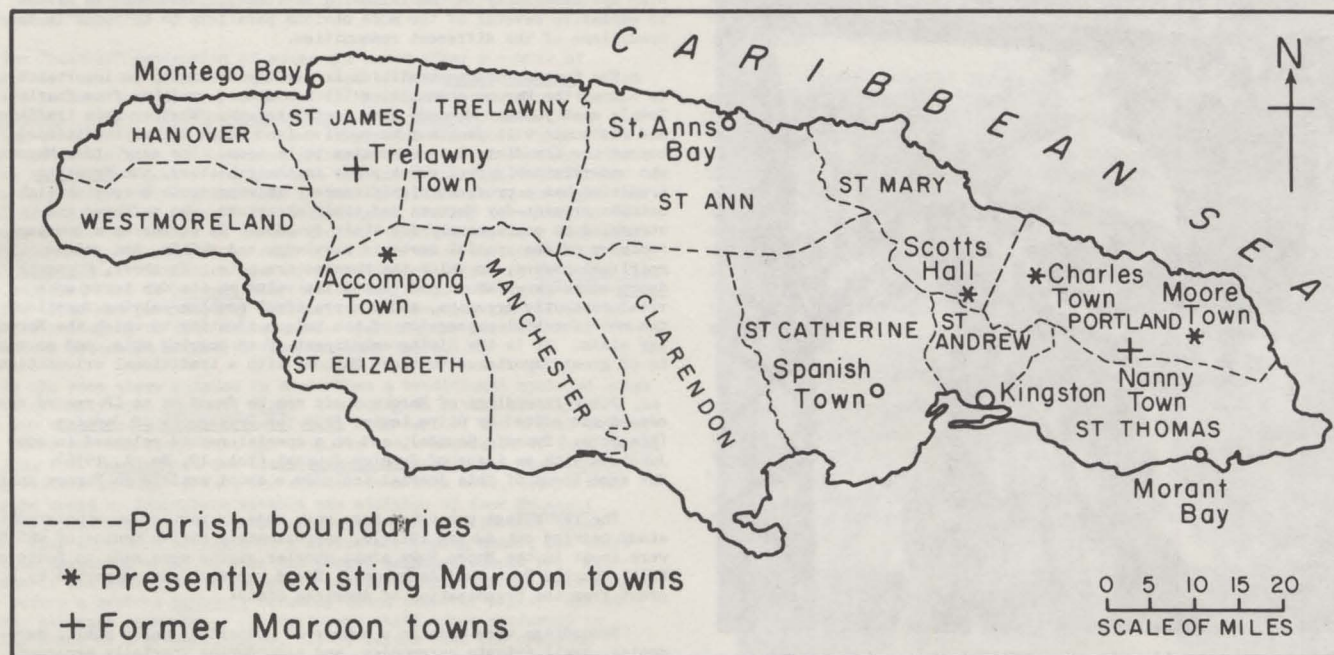



FIGURE 1. Map of Jamaica showing parish boundaries and locations of the major Maroon settlements.

The Caribbean island of Jamaica was at one time among the most prized of Britain's sugar producing colonies. What lay behind the great wealth produced by this colony was the labor of African slaves, some three-quarters of a million of whom were forcibly imported into the island between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade, 1969, p.160). From the very beginning, some slaves took their chances and fled to the unsettled mountains of the Jamaican interior. During the middle of the seventeenth century --coinciding with the British occupation of the island, which until then had been under Spanish control -- large numbers of slaves escaped to the wilderness and coalesced into organized groups. Over the years these initial bands of "maroons" (the English generic term for runaway slaves) were augmented by a continual flow of new fugitives. By the early eighteenth century two major federations of Maroons had formed, those controlling the western interior who became known as the "Leewards," and those in the eastern Blue Mountains known as the "Windwards." Until the British sued for peace in the 1730's, both Maroon groups waged an unrelenting guerilla war against the colonial plantation society. In 1739 treaties were completed with both groups, recognizing their freedom, granting them land and a number of privileges, and allowing them a limited measure of autonomy.

The Jamaican situation was not a unique one; wherever in the New World slavery prevailed, maroon groups came into existence and, more often than not, fought actively and with great determination against the powers which had enslaved them. (For a general introduction to maroon societies throughout the Americas, see Richard Price (ed.), Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas, second edition, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1979.) In Jamaica, as elsewhere, many early Maroons were African-born, and came from a large number of different linguistic and cultural groups. Like similar maroon groups in other parts of the New World, the Jamaican Maroons faced the formidable problem of adapting the diversity of their pasts to a new and often strange environment, while simultaneously fighting a war against the hostile colonists surrounding them. This required nothing less than the creation of a viable sociocultural system (and military organization) -- a synthesis incorporating much from the past, but a new creation nonetheless. At this the Maroons succeeded, not in complete isolation, but rather through a complex interactive process which included within its scope the larger slave society. Even prior to the treaties of 1739 the Maroons maintained close contacts in the coastal areas.

Following the general Emancipation of slaves in Jamaica in 1838, interaction between Maroons and the developing peasantry surrounding them increased rapidly. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Maroon culture and the general Jamaican culture underwent many parallel developments. In this period the Jamaican government tried through various means, but without much success, to bring about the complete assimilation of the Maroons into the wider society. In spite of the fact that by this time the Maroons for the most part shared the culture and language of other rural Jamaicans, they strongly resisted formal attempts to cancel out their special status and unique identity.

Today there are four major Maroon communities in existence in Jamaica: Accompong, one of the original Leeward villages located in the rugged western Cockpit Country; and in the east, Moore Town, Charles Town, and Scott's Hall, all of them originally settled by Windward Maroons (see Figure 1). Only two of the communities, Moore Town and Accompong, retain significant structural features stemming from the original treaties, such as communal land tenure and exemption from government taxation on their lands. In addition, these two communities (and also Scott's Hall) continue to boast, in the tradition of the treaties, governing Maroon councils headed by elected officers (the highest officer is given the title "Colonel").

Aside from the features mentioned above and a few items of material culture there is very little today which distinguishes Maroons from other rural villagers. They speak the same language, wear the same kind of clothing, eat the same food, and attend the same variety of Christian churches as other Jamaicans. Politically and economically they are virtually fully integrated with the larger Jamaican society. It should be apparent, then, that today none of the Maroon groups may be considered separate "societies." However, Maroons in all communities retain a strong sense of unique identity and a system of ideology not shared by non-Maroons; for this reason it would seem accurate to refer to the present-day Maroon groups as "ethnic groups" within the context of the wider society.

One cultural sphere in which the Jamaican Maroons have maintained a clearly distinct tradition is that of music and dance. Traditional Maroon identity is largely rooted (in the three eastern communities) in the ritual complex known as Kromanti dance or Kromanti Play. (The name "Kromanti" is derived from an historical slave port on the Gold Coast of West Africa, and was used in Jamaica to refer to slaves who originated from this general region, the majority being of Akan background.) The

Kromanti dance ceremony, which incorporates a variety of musical and dance styles, revolves around the possession of participants by the spirits of Maroon ancestors who help the living to solve various spiritual problems. Most often the ceremonies are concerned with healing spirit-caused ailments. In serious Kromanti ceremonies involving spirit possession (myal), non-Maroons are barred from attending, except under special circumstances (Moore Town is particularly strict about this). Much of what takes place during ceremonies is held secret. The esoteric Kromanti language, herbal healing, and physical feats which are central to Kromanti Play are seen as being beyond the ken of outsiders; it is believed by most Maroons that the powers of Kromanti, derived from the ancestors, cannot be taught or otherwise passed on to those who do not share in "Maroon blood."

FIGURE 2. George Harris, the official *abeng-blower* for Moore Town, sounds his instrument. (Photograph: Jefferson Miller)

In the ritual of Kromanti dance many of the most important Maroon symbols and attitudes are brought into play, and the traditional belief system, which in its general outlines remains fundamentally "African," is clearly articulated. Given its intimate connection with this ritual complex (and the attached worldview), it is not surprising that traditional Maroon music should, on several levels, both aural and conceptual, conform so closely to a generalized African aesthetic. The music of Kromanti dance is perhaps one of the most interesting musical creations of the New World African diaspora, and provides fertile ground for comparison with other Afro-American musical traditions. (Particularly interesting is a comparison with the music of other surviving maroon groups, such as the Saramaka and Djuka of Suriname, whose history and culture parallels in many respects that of the Jamaican Maroons. See, for example, the LP record recorded and edited by Richard and Sally Price, Music from Saramaka: A Dynamic Afro-American Tradition (New York: Folkways FE 4225, 1977).

This selection of recordings does not pretend to represent a complete survey of Maroon musical traditions. As in other cultural spheres, the Maroons have for years participated in musical and dance traditions which are common to rural Jamaicans throughout the island. A complete view of Maroon music would require attention to a number of traditions which Maroons share with other Jamaicans, such as quadrille, Jonkonnu ("John Canoe"), digging songs, and the church music of several Christian denominations. However, the selections appearing on this recording were purposefully limited (with a few exceptions) to music which is specifically associated with Kromanti dance, for it is precisely within this tradition that a uniquely Maroon musical heritage is to be found.

The fact that all the present-day Maroon communities possess similar Kromanti traditions points to an historical relationship of some sort between the various Maroon groups. It is well known, in fact, that the three Windward communities (Moore Town, Charles Town, and Scott's Hall) have a long history of close contact; indeed, there is ample evidence that the ancestors of present-day Maroons from all three of these villages belonged -- prior to the treaty of 1739 -- to a single federation. It is difficult to tell, however, whether the many musical, linguistic, and other parallels between the Kromanti traditions of the different present-day communities owe their existence to a common origin in the distant past, or to inter-village visiting and ritual exchanges in the more recent past -- or to a combination of both factors. The Kromanti tradition of the western community of Accompong also displays certain significant, though less obvious, similarities to the eastern Kromanti traditions, and thus other questions arise here: how frequent and close were contacts between the Windward and Leeward Maroons in the distant past, and to what extent did Maroons living on opposite sides of the island, both before and after the treaties, once share a pan-Maroon identity and a common culture? While it is known that there was a certain amount of cooperation and some exchanging of personnel between the eastern and western communities before the treaties, the picture remains vague. In any case, while much research remains to be done on the subject, present-day musical and linguistic evidence suggests that there may have been close ties between all of the Maroon groups from early on. Although I do not attempt to deal with this problem systematically in the following sections, I have made an effort to emphasize several of the more obvious parallels to be found in the traditions of the different communities.

The Kromanti dance tradition is rapidly declining in importance in all of the Maroon communities (it has almost vanished from Charles Town); most younger Maroons have lost interest. Whether this tradition and its music will continue to survive (and adapt to new conditions) beyond the immediate future remains to be seen. For many older Maroons, who understandably feel great pride in their history, the Kromanti tradition has a profound significance. It represents a crucial link between present-day Maroons and their ancestors, who suffered and struggled so courageously for their freedom. It serves as a constant reminder of the special esoteric knowledge and skills, and unique spiritual powers, to which the Maroons are heir. In short, Kromanti dance contains -- above and beyond its value on its own terms as a vital aesthetic creation, and its practical problem-solving functions -- the most forceful expression of the unique identity to which the Maroons lay claim. It is the living embodiment of an ongoing epic, and as such, is of great importance to those Maroons with a traditional orientation.

Other recordings of Maroon music can be found on an LP record recorded and edited by Olive Lewin, From the Grassroots of Jamaica (Kingston: Dynamic Sounds), and on a special record released in conjunction with an issue of Jamaica Journal (Vol. 10, No. 1, 1976). The same issue of this journal includes a short article on Maroon music.

The recordings presented here were made as part of an ethnographic study carried out during 1977-78, approximately twelve months of which were spent in the Moore Town area; shorter visits were made to Scott's Hall, Charles Town, and Accompong. Field research was supported by a grant from the Organization of American States.

Recordings were made in a number of contexts: major public ceremonies, small private ceremonies, and also during specially arranged sessions. Since a number of participants in the recordings expressed a wish to remain anonymous, individual performers have not been named.

I wish to thank the many Maroons who cooperated in the making of these recordings for the contribution of their knowledge, talents, and insights. Through their generosity, they have ensured that their vital and valuable tradition will reach others and achieve the wider recognition it deserves. Special thanks must go to the Colonels of the Maroon communities for their help: To Colonel C.L.G. Harris of Moore Town, Colonel E. Latibeaudeare of Scott's Hall, and Colonel M.L. Wright of Accompong; and also to William Shackleford of Charles Town. I would like as well to convey my gratitude to Abraham K. Adzinyah and Fu-Kiau kia Bunseki for their help with specific sections of the notes. I also wish to acknowledge the contribution of Barbara and Igor Kopytoff, who helped record the processional music from Accompong. My thanks go also to the officials of the African-Caribbean Institute in Kingston, particularly Beverly Hall and Cheryl Ryman, who shared with me their knowledge of traditional Jamaican culture while this study was in progress. Rex Nettleford, Professor of Extra Mural Studies at the University of the West Indies, was also helpful, and I would like to express my appreciation for his support.

Richard Price, Morton Marks, and Charles V. Carnegie read and commented on an earlier version of these notes. I am grateful for their suggestions, some of which I have incorporated; however, responsibility for any errors remains my own.

Special thanks to Randall Baier for engineering the master tape for this record, to Janet Sherman for typing the manuscript, and to Jefferson Miller for contributing photographs.

Finally to all Maroons, I say: na fi di kliin-yai yengkungku dis, an al bigi suma huma tuajina obroni mek in sabi sonti; an na fi unu pikin dem... so wen turo kon, foul futu ne kil in pikin, so konjo siid ne laas.

SELECTIONS

MOORE TOWN

(Side 1, Bands 1-13; Side 2, Bands 1-4)

Of all the Maroon communities, Moore Town at present possesses the most elaborate Kromanti tradition, and this is reflected in the rich musical heritage which lives on in this area. (The Moore Town community extends beyond the village of Moore Town proper to include a number of outlying villages such as Comfort Castle, Cornwall Barracks, and Ginger

House; these settlements include among their inhabitants a large number of Maroons who trace their ancestry to, and share in the traditions of, Moore Town.) In the Moore Town area the music of Kromanti Play is organized into a number of distinct musical categories, each of which is associated with specific styles of drumming and dancing. Categories carry different weights, depending on the relative intrinsic power of the songs included within them. Songs in the "lighter" or less powerful categories (i.e., Jawbone, Sa Leone, Tambu) tend to have words in English or creole (known locally as "patois"); they are used primarily for recreational group dancing. On the other hand songs in the "heavier" or "deeper" categories typically have a higher percentage of non-English words; they are used specifically to invoke the spirits of Maroon ancestors, and to accompany the dancing and spirit workings of the ritual specialist known as the dancer-man or fete-man. (The latter term, pronounced "feh-tay man," means literally, "fight-man"; it is derived from an old form of English creole, and bears no relation to the French word "fête.")

The "heavier" categories of songs are named after a number of "tribes" or "nations" (these words are used by Maroons themselves) which are said to have contributed to the early Maroon society. Among these are Kromanti, Prapa, Ibo, Mandinga, Dokose, and Mongola. Ideas surrounding these tribes are rather vague in present-day Moore Town. Some older Maroons claim to be descended primarily from one or another tribe, but the majority of people contend that the intermingling of different tribes in past generations has made it very difficult to disentangle the tribal affiliations of present-day individuals. In any case, tribal divisions, as a real feature of Maroon social organization, have long since faded into the past. Today the only context in which the concept of internal tribal differentiation has any significance at all is Kromanti Play. It is believed that in Kromanti ceremonies the songs associated with a specific tribe are particularly efficacious in invoking the spirits of ancestors belonging to that tribe, or in sparking the possession of living dancers descended primarily from the same tribe.

In the past there existed in Moore Town a traditional cycle of songs used to formally open Kromanti Play. According to ritual specialists, the cycle was comprised of four primary songs from each of the tribal categories. Older Maroons state that the complete cycle consisted of four Prapa, four Ibo, four Mandinga (a few claim Mongola instead), and four Dokose, making sixteen in all. A few, who dissent from this view, assert that the cycle would be incomplete without the addition of four Kromanti (Country), thus bringing the total to twenty. It is said that these sets of four were once arranged in a strict performing order, but there is little consensus today on what the proper sequence should be. At one time it was considered a necessity to run quickly through this song cycle before a serious Kromanti ceremony could properly begin. But at present, although segments of the cycle are still often performed to mark the start of a Kromanti dance, it is seldom that the cycle is played in its entirety.

Aside from their role in this traditional cycle, the "heavier" songs associated with the various tribes (there exist many more than the primary sixteen or twenty featured in the cycle) are often performed during the later hours of the night when the dancing becomes especially intense. Each song category is matched by a specific style of dancing. These songs are favored by older, more powerful spirits and are quick to spur the possession of dancers. They are also closely connected with the tradition of herbal healing for which the Maroons are famous. Each tribal category is said to be associated with a matching herb (there are specific wild plants in the area named accordingly: "Prapa Weed," "Mandinga Weed," "Dokose Weed," etc.); some specialists claim that every individual song has a matching "weed." These plants are seen as being imbued with spiritual as well as medicinal power.

In many respects Kromanti is at present a specialists' tradition. The primary keeper of knowledge, including musical knowledge, is the ritual specialist, the fete-man (or fete-woman, as the case may be). Most of the deeper knowledge is passed on from individual to individual (and also, as tradition has it, through the direct teachings of spirits appearing in dreams), and thus -- it should be noted, in the interest of accuracy -- there is a good deal of disagreeement between individual specialists on details. The account which has been presented here was arrived at through a careful comparison and cross-checking of the independent statements of many different individuals, both specialists and non-specialists. The general consensus which emerged is by no means absolute, and the tendency of present-day individual practioners to vary in specifics of belief and practice should be recognized. Thus, to provide an example, while a majority of persons may regard a particular song as a Dokose there will usually be a few others who consider the same song as belonging to a different category.

Variation of this sort is a fundamental characteristic of the present-day Kromanti tradition which should not be overlooked. Individual specialists who disagree with the statements of other specialists often do so vehemently, and they will sometimes claim that the knowledge they themselves possess is "truer" and "greater" than that held by others. From the perspective of the ethnographer, the question of who among these persons is most "correct" makes little sense. These differences in belief tend to work themselves out in the context of Kromanti Play, where a broad consensus must be reached by participants; in the final analysis, though, it seems to be the primary fete-man presiding at any particular ceremony whose word holds the greatest weight in that context. This high degree of variability within the Kromanti tradition may reflect the fact that it is in a state of decline, and appears to be losing its coherence; however, it is also possible that it is in part a reflection of the dynamic flexibility characteristic of Afro-American culture throughout the New World (for a discussion of Afro-American cultural dynamism in the arts, see Sally and Richard Price, Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest, Los Angeles: University of California, 1980).

The instrumental ensemble normally employed in Kromanti Play consists of a pair of long cylindrical drums (single-headed, one "female" and the other "male"), each called printing (from Twi, "oprenteng"); a length of bamboo tube played with two sticks, called kwat (said to be an abbreviation of the word "quarter," but the word may actually have an African derivation); and a machete struck with a piece of metal, known as the "iron" or adawo (see Figures 3-12). The adawo is particularly interesting, for its musical function is not like that of the leading bell which is found in much of West African drum ensemble music. Rather than playing a regular pattern to which the other parts are all related, the adawo typically weaves in and out of the drumming patterns, more often than not without adhering to a steady pulse. The reason for this is that this instrument is understood to be playing in a paralinguistic mode most of the time, even though it is never actually used to communicate messages through the reproduction of specific speech patterns. (There are legends, however, in which the adawo does play a central role as a Maroon instrument of communication; for this reason, today it is seen as something of a symbol of Maroon identity.)

The drummer, known as okrema or printing-man, is second in importance only to the fete-man in Kromanti Play. He should know how to play both the interlocking supporting and lead parts (known as "rolling" and "cutting," respectively), and should possess a sound knowledge of the diverse drumming styles accompanying the different categories of songs. Each category calls for a specific drumming style, although songs from one category will occasionally be backed by the drumming style associated with another category (for example, a Prapa song may once in a while, for the sake of variety, be played in Mandinga style). If an okrema falters while playing for a Kromanti dance, or makes an improper selection of style, the fete-man will become agitated and may refuse to work. It should be apparent from the above that the role of okrema is of great importance and requires a high degree of knowledge, discipline, and skill.

ABENG (Side 1, Band 1)

The abeng is an instrument made from the horn of a cow. It is played by blowing through a side hole located near the tip; the thumb is simultaneously used to change pitch by covering another hole at the very tip (See Figure 2). This instrument is derived from a West African design (the name "abeng" is still used in present Ghana as a generic term for wind instruments made from the horn of an animal).

FIGURE 3. George Osbourne, a respected *okrema-man,* demonstrates the playing of the *Kromanti* drum *(printing)* of Moore Town; he is playing here the "rolling drum" (supporting drum), the larger of the two drums usually used in *Kromanti Play.* (Photograph: K. Bilby)

The abeng is used primarily as a signalling device. During the days when the Maroons were at war with the British this instrument served as a vital means of communication. Although capable of producing only two basic pitches, the abeng was used by the Maroons to send complex messages over wide areas. The "language" of the abeng (actually a limited repository of set phrases) was essential to the Maroons' military strategy. By posting a network of abeng-men as sentries around their settlements the rebels virtually ruled out the possibility of surprise attack; time and again the British colonial militia sent out in pursuit of the runaways found themselves ambushed before they had gotten anywhere near the Maroon villages. Contemporary British accounts of the military campaigns against the Maroons often mention the abeng and its strategic value.

Today the abeng continues to be used primarily for communication; it is always played in "speech mode," to convey a message, and never merely for musical entertainment. At the present time it is used not only to forewarn the community of danger, but also to carry news of emergency, as when someone has been lost in the woods, or has drowned. It is also periodically used to call the Maroon council or the wider community to assembly. Finally, it is used to signal the arrival of the Christmas holiday.

Side 1, Band 1 - Abeng: This recording was made during the Christmas holiday, the only time of year that the abeng can be freely blown. It is here ushering in the holiday. Although I was able to elicit a few fragments of abeng texts, the "language" of this instrument remains a carefully protected Maroon secret (like the Kromanti ritual language, it is sometimes referred to as Country), and I am not able to furnish any text to go with the example offered here.

JAWBONE (Side 1, Bands 2-4)

The term Jawbone refers both to a category of songs and a particular drumming style used to accompany these songs. Jawbone is considered to be one of the "lighter" categories of songs -- that is, songs which are used primarily for recreational dancing rather than for invoking spirit possession. Nonetheless, on occasion even Jawbone songs will cause possession. But the Jawbone style is regarded in most cases as a sort of "warming up" music to be used primarily during the early hours of a dance before serious possession occurs, or toward the end of a dance (shortly before dawn) after it has begun to "cool down" in tone. Like the styles Sa Leone and Tambu, Jawbone is often spoken of as "pleasurizing" music.

The language used in Jawbone songs is usually the English-based creole which is used throughout Jamaica, although it sometimes tends toward the "deeper" creole which is spoken by possessed Maroons (as a "spirit language") in Kromanti dance. Most of these songs are topical and include some comment on or allusion to an incident or situation which affected the community (or an individual member of it) some time in the past. Many (though not all) of them are characterized by mournful themes and very moving, plaintive melodies.

There is a relatively stable repertoire of Jawbone songs and it appears, at least at present, that new songs are not produced often. It is said that most Jawbone songs go back a generation or more, at least. Some of the songs in this category are sung not only in Kromanti Play, but are used also as "digging tunes" (work songs) to accompany cooperative labor gangs during cultivation. (This type of work song is not unique to the Maroons, but is found in many rural areas of Jamaica.)

In transcribing the texts to the following songs, I have decided to forego the use of a standardized phonemic orthography, such as that employed by Cassidy in Jamaica Talk (second edition, 1971), in favor of a less precise, but more accessible informal rendering based on standard English conventions of spelling and pronunciation.

FIGURE 4. Charles Aarons, Assistant Secretary of the Moore Town Maroons, plays the "cutting drum" (the lead drum, also called *printing*). (Photograph: Jefferson Miller)

Side 1, Band 2 - Jawbone: The words of the chorus in this selection are as follows (throughout the notes, successive repetitions of the same line will not be indicated in song transcriptions):

eh--- deh --- tata
three days and three nights
a raise mornin' star-eh

(The leader repeats the chorus or improvises lines between choruses.)

This song was composed many years ago, I was told, in rememberance of a Maroon woman who had died a short time before and was missed by members of the community.

The instruments in this selection are two printing, a kwat, and adawo. The drummers playing here are considered to be two of the finest living Maroon printing-man, and the subtle and complex tone-shifting and interplay between the "rolling" and "cutting" drums attest to their skill.

As is the case in most Maroon music, the chorus is sung primarily by women.

Side 1, Band 3 - Jawbone: This is another example of the Jawbone style. Although the instruments being played are the same as those on Band 2, some of the players are different. A comparison of this selection and the last illustrates the considerable room for individual stylistic variation possible within a single drumming style.

The words of the song were given to me as follows:

CH: eh ---, eh --- deh-eh --, eh --- deh, me rose all
see dem gyal a molain, me da rose-eh

me see dem gyal a molain, dem a rose all-eh
me li-li but me small, me rose-oh, ma
me see dem gyal a molain, me da rose-oh, etc.

(CH: eh ---, eh --- deh-eh ---, eh ---deh, all my roses

I see (saw) those girls at molain, I'm a rose
I see (saw) those girls at molain, they are all roses
I'm little but I'm small, my rose-oh, ma
I see (saw) those girls at molain, I'm a rose, etc.)

(NOTE: The construction "dem a rose all" would normally be rendered "all a dem a rose" in Jamaican creole; this idiosyncratic construction raised doubts in my mind about the above transcription, but performers insisted on its accuracy, and added that the problematic phrase involves no allusion to the place name "Rose Hall," for which it could easily be mistaken.)

According to one interpretation, the song is commenting on the beauty of the young women in a particular district by comparing them (and the singer also!) to a rose.

The sort of long, melismatic drawing-out of vowels heard in the chorus of this song is typical of Jawbone songs, especially when they are played more slowly.

It is interesting also to note that the man playing the kwat in this selection is an accomplished printing-man, and the rhythms he is playing on the kwat are typical "cutting" drum patterns.

Side 1, Band 4 - Jawbone: This lovely song is played here in the slow Jawbone style. The part of the "rolling drum" has been somewhat simplified by the player in this case. This example includes only two printing; the kwat and adawo have been omitted.

The words are as follows:

CH: eh---, eh--deh---
mornin'-oh, mornin'-eh---
mornin'-oh, mornin'-eh---
me aks me dasha weh im min go
im tell me, "mornin'-eh"

LEADER: all weh dem seh me yeri-oh
all weh dem talk me yeri-oh
all weh dem seh me yeri-oh
me aks de dasha weh im min go
im tell me, "mornin'-eh"

(CH: eh---, eh--deh---
morning, morning
morning, morning

I asked my dear where she had gone
she told me, "morning"

LEADER: all that they say I hear
all that they talk I hear
all that they say I hear
I asked my dear where she had gone
she told me, "morning")

I was told that this song grew out of an incident which occurred

long ago. A Maroon woman suddenly vanished one day from her village and was not seen or heard from again for a number of years. Her lover and friends and family in the village were left to wonder what had become of her. Then one day she returned as suddenly as she had departed. When her loved ones asked her where she had been for so long, she simply greeted them "good morning" and would offer no explanation for her absence. The song goes on to comment on the gossip of some of the villagers who began to spread the story of how the disappearing woman had behaved upon her return.

SA LEONE (Side 1, Band 5)

Sa Leone is the name given to another category of Maroon songs and the drumming style used to accompany them. Like Jawbone, Sa Leone songs are considered "light" and are sung primarily for recreation during the early hours of Kromanti Play. These songs are often referred to as "woman songs," and their words are in English or creole. As with Jawbone, the songs tend to be topical.

Sa Leone drumming, although similar in some respects, is clearly distinct from Jawbone. The same interlocking two-drum principle applies to Sa Leone (one supporting or "rolling" drum, and one lead or "cutting" drum), but the rhythmic patterns of this style are distinctive. Sa Leone drumming is seen, along with the related Maroon styles known as Tambu and John Thomas, as being closely related to the Kumina drumming style which is popular in the coastal areas of the eastern parishes.

Sa Leone is often danced in a ring formation. (The name "Sa Leone" is derived from Sierra Leone, a country located on the coast of West Africa.)

Side 1, Band 5 - Sa Leone: The instruments played in this example are two printing, adawo, and kwat. The man on the kwat plays typical lead drum patterns.

The words of this song are as follows:

CH: Oh---, eh-deh-eh
you remember rain-oh, John Warren
you remember rainy day

LEADER: rain a go fall, de rain a go fall-eh
de rain a go fall, John Warren
remember rainy day

rain deh a you door, rain deh a you door-eh
rain deh a you door, John Warren
rain deh a you door-eh, etc.

(LEADER: rain is going to fall, the rain is going to fall
the rain is going to fall, John Warren
remember rainy day

rain is at your door, rain is at your door
rain is at your door, John Warren
rain is at your door),etc.

The song is about a man named John Warren who, because he was forgetful and ungrateful, suffered a recurrence of certain troubles with which he had earlier been helped by friends. Because he did not properly remember the efforts of his friends, he was soon confronted once again with the problems (i.e., the "rain") which they had helped him solve. The song is intended as a warning to others who, like John Warren, tend to be forgetful of favors done them.

TAMBU (Side 1, Bands 6-7)

The Maroon style known as Tambu is particularly intriguing, because of its apparent connections with the music of the Kumina cults which are found primarily in the lowland areas surrounding the eastern Maroon communities. (Like Jawbone and Sa Leone, the name Tambu refers both to a category of songs and the drumming style which backs them.) In fact, Maroons readily admit that Maroon Tambu and Kumina drumming are closely related, and that most Tambu songs are also known and sung by Kumina devotees at their own ceremonies. Indeed, Kumina drumming, when used in St. Thomas parish for recreation, is often referred to as Tambu, the same name used by Maroons for their own style. The two styles, however, are clearly distinct.

It has often been assumed that historically the Kumina cults originated among the eastern Maroons. The similarity of Maroon Tambu and Kumina drumming, and the large number of songs shared by the two groups, might seem to lend credence to this assumption. However, it is important to note that both Maroons and Kumina participants think of one another as members of two different "nations," each with its own musical and ritual traditions (although it is also recognized by both sides that, on another level, they are related, as "Africans"). I would contend that, in fact, an examination of the Maroon Kromanti tradition and the Kumina tradition supports the theory that the two belong to different cultural-historical streams, although there has been a good deal of contact and interchange between them in the past. Whereas the Kromanti tradition originated among the Maroons, and most likely goes back to the eighteenth century or before, the Kumina tradition appears to have been introduced to Jamaica during the nineteenth century by post-emancipation Central African immigrants (see Monica Schuler, "Alas, Alas, Kongo," Baltimore:Johns Hopkins, 1980). While there is not sufficient space to pursue this point further here, it is worth noting that present-day Maroons consider their Tambu style in a sense not real or truly Maroon, not a part of the "root." Some Maroons go so far as to

FIGURE 5. Close-up of the *printing,* taken as it is being tuned, the head just having been tightened by pounding on and around the wedges. (Photograph: Jefferson Miller)

assert that Tambu songs are properly the possessions of the "Bongo Nation" (as Maroons refer to those who practice Kumina), but that they were "caught" by Maroons in the past, who transformed them and adapted them to Kromanti Play. It is reasonable, therefore, to conjecture that the present-day Maroon Tambu style is the product of a syncretization of earlier Maroon styles with later Kumina influences.

Because of the similarities between the drumming styles and songs of Maroon Tambu and Kumina, Kromanti drummers are able to pick up Kumina drumming with relative ease. For this reason, it is not uncommon for Maroons traveling to outside districts to spontaneously join Kumina ceremonies as competent musical particpants.

It is intersting to note that there also exists a somewhat similar style of drumming (played on a single drum, generally at a faster tempo) in the western parish of Trelawny, also called Tambu.

Side 1, Band 6 - Tambu: This is a good example of a song which is known not only to Maroons, but is also commonly sung as a "bailo" in Kumina. However, the Maroon version differs substantially from the Kumina version, in phrasing, melody, and drum accompaniment. (It should be pointed out that the same song will often vary substantially within either the Maroon or Kumina traditions themselves; but differences between Maroon and Kumina variants of the same song are seen as being indicative of general stylistic differences between the music of the two "nations.")

There are two printing being played on this selection.

The words of the song are as follows:

CH: fire da bun-oh
fire da bun-oh
fire da bun-oh, Maria
fire da bun-eh

LEADER: wah me gwine do-oh, wah me gwine do-oh
wah me gwine do-oh, buddy-oh, fire fe bun me-eh

call im gi me-oh, call im gi me-oh
call im gi me-oh, buddy-oh, fire da bun me-eh

Maria, me gyal-eh, Maria, me gyal-eh
me leap a window, buddy-oh, me leap a window-eh

you ketch a fire-eh, you ketch a fire
you ketch a fire, buddy- oh, you ketch a fire-eh

hasty love-oh, hasty love-eh
hasty love-oh, buddy-oh, soon depart-eh

(CH: fire is burning
fire is burning
fire is burning, Maria
fire is burning

LEADER: what am I going to do, what am I going to do
what am I going to do, buddy, fire must burn me

call her give her to me, call her give her to me
call her give her to me, buddy, fire is burning me

Maria, my girl, Maria, my girl
I leapt to the window, buddy, I leapt to the window

you caught on fire, you caught on fire
you caught on fire, buddy, you caught on fire

hasty love, hasty love
hasty love, buddy, soon depart)

This song is about a young man who fell in love with a woman too quickly, and when they had to part, suffered a burning pain like fire. (In other versions of the song, it is a young woman who is forced to part from her lover and is bemoaning her loss.)

Side 1, Band 7 - Tambu: This beautiful song is also sometimes heard at Kumina dances. The lead drumming in this example contrasts interestingly with that in the last example, and a comparison of the two gives an idea of the acceptability of individual variation within this style. The only instruments being played are two printing.

The words of the song follow below:

LEADER: oh, Martina mama
CH: hear when de duppy bawl
L: ah, Martina mama
CH: hear when de duppy bawl
L: ah, Martina mama
CH: hear when de duppy bawl
duppy bawl, wai, wai, wai, wai
ina Kumina

L: ah, me da come from Johns Hall
CH: hear when de duppy bawl
L: ah, me da come from Wheelersfield
CH: hear when de duppy bawl
L: ah, me da come from Malan Bay, etc.
CH: hear when de duppy bawl
duppy bawl, wai, wai, wai, wai
ina Kumina, etc.

(L: oh, Martina mama
CH: hear as the spirit cries
L: ah, Martina mama
CH: hear as the spirit cries

L: ah, Martina mama
CH: hear as the spirit cries
the spirit cries, wai, wai, wai, wai
in the Kumina

L: ah, I am coming from Johns Hall
CH: hear as the spirit cries
L: ah, I am coming from Wheelersfield
CH: hear as the spirit cries
L: ah, I am coming from Morant Bay, etc.
CH: hear as the spirit cries
the spirit cries, wai, wai, wai, wai
in the Kumina), etc.

FIGURE 6. A young Moore Town Maroon practices on a makeshift drum. (Photograph: Jefferson Miller)

I was told that this song originated in the area of Hayfield (a small Maroon branch settlement not far from Moore Town, in the Parish of St. Thomas). The song proceeds almost as a roll call of villages in St. Thomas and Portland parishes which are known as places with strong Kumina groups. Many villages other than those mentioned above are normally invoked in this song, such as: Needham Pen, Arcadia, Prospect, Hayfield, Moore Town, Dalvey, Johns Town, and several others -- all places traditionally associated with spiritual power (whether Maroon or Kumina). (The rendering of Morant Bay as "Malan Bay" above represents -- according to present-day Maroon storytellers and oral historians -- the way the "old-time" Maroons and St. Thomas "Africans" used to pronounce the name.) The song may be seen as a commentary on the power of Kumina in invoking spirits, which according to some people may be heard wailing -- by those with a gift for sensing spirits -- as they are attracted to the ceremony. ("Wai, wai, wai" -- sometimes pronounced "woy" -- is a stylized representation of the Jamaican expression "waay"/"waay-uo", which is often used as an exclamation of pain, fright, surprise, or sorrow.)

MANDINGA (Side 1, Bands 8-10)

Mandinga refers both to a category of songs and a drumming style that goes with them. Mandinga belongs to the more powerful group of songs which includes the categories Prapa, Ibo, and Dokose. These song categories correspond to the "tribes" after which they are named, and it is said that they can be used specifically to invoke the spirits of Maroon ancestors who were descended primarily from the same "tribes." Songs of this sort are sung primarily later at night during Kromanti dance, when the ceremony becomes more serious.

The words of the songs in these more powerful categories are often primarily African-derived rather than English or creole.

The drumming for these "higher" songs traditionally requires a special stick known as abaso tick (abaso stick), or less commonly as akani tick. The lead drummer plays with the abaso tick in one hand and with the fingers and palm of his other hand. The proper use of the abaso tick requires a good deal of skill, and older players lament that the younger drummers no longer know how to use it. In many cases nowadays, drummers do no not bother to use the abaso-tick, even in the particular styles which call for it.

The name Mandinga is obviously derived from "Mandingo," the name of a large ethnic group (also known as "Mandinka," "Maninke," etc.) in the Senegambia region of West Africa. However, this should not be taken to mean that the songs which go by this name can be traced to this specific region of Africa. The derivations of Maroon musical styles and songs are difficult to pinpoint, and in most cases they must be seen as New World creations, the end results of a unique process of musical syncretism which long ago began to blend elements from a diversity of African traditions into new styles.

Side 1, Band 8 - Mandinga/John Thomas: In this selection, Mandinga-style drumming is blended with the "lighter" Maroon drumming style known as John Thomas (in the Maroon "spirit language," "John Thomas" is also the name used to refer to St. Thomas parish).

The example begins with the sound of the abaso-tick beating out the basic pulse on the drumhead as the song gets started. The abaso-tick can be heard playing the lead part throughout the song. Unlike many songs in this category, the words of this song are in English creole (although it is a deep form). The chorus sings:

ya yeh, ya yeh kin an beri (alt., beli)

"Kin an beri" can be roughly translated as "skin and belly" (however, "kin" can mean "body" -- one's entire body -- as well as "skin"). I was told that the song is about a Maroon who was dancing Kromanti one time, and whose body received a "blow" from an outsider spirit. The spirit injury caused a pain in his stomach.

Side 1, Band 9 - Mandinga/Tambu: In this selection, the lead drummer has decided not to use abaso-tick and plays with both hands instead. The supporting drummer plays his part with a Tambu feel. Toward the end of the example the lead drummer also begins subtly to shift his style of "cutting" from Mandinga to Tambu, so that by the end of the band a complete transition has occurred and the song is being backed by typical Tambu drumming, rather than the usual Mandinga style.

The words of the song are not in English:

CH: ya ya dempo, dempo, dempo ma ya weh
LEADER: ya ya dempo, dempo, denkoman kwiza-eh

I was unable to obtain a Maroon exegesis for this song.

Side 1, Band 10 - Mandinga: This is a good example, along with the last selection, of how Mandinga sounds when played in slow tempo, as it often is (compare to the fast Mandinga on Band 8). The lead drummer plays in the traditional manner, using the abaso-tick. This is considered one of the more powerful songs. (Although a majority of persons classified this song as Mandinga, a few others disagreed and asserted that it is an Ibo song.)

I was unable to elicit a translation of the words to this song, which are as follows (the meaning appears to have been lost):

CH: wiri-oh, wiri-oh sankoma-eh

LEADER: wiri-oh, sankoma man-oh, wiri-eh
wiri-oh, wiri-oh, wiri-oh, wiri-eh, etc.

PRAPA (Side 1, Band 11)

The category of Prapa (sometimes alternately pronounced "prapra," or "papa") includes four primary songs, all of which are backed by the same drumming style. Prapa songs are considered to be among the most powerful of Maroon songs. It is traditional to open a serious Kromanti Play with these four Prapa songs, followed by four primary songs from each of the other "tribes" (although this traditional song cycle is seldom adhered to nowadays). These opening performances are kept short so as to prevent unanticipated spirit possession. Later in the evening, after the lighter entertainment has subsided, these Prapa songs may be performed again at the request of a possessed individual, or for the express purpose of invoking spirits.

The name Prapa is almost certainly derived from the word "Pawpaw," which was used by Europeans during the slavery era to refer to slaves who originated from the Ewe-speaking area west of the Yoruba country (in what is today known as Togo, and in neighboring parts of Ghana and Benin).

Side 1, Band 11 - Prapa: This song opens with the supporting drummer playing alone. Then, shortly after the chorus enters, the lead drummer joins in with abaso-tick, as is proper. The drumming style, which is uniquely Maroon, is very interesting. Its "metrical" structure is basically triple rather than duple (although the way it is accented and subdivided gives it something of a duple feel), a feature which is relatively rare in Afro-Jamaican cult music, most of which is unambiguously duple.

The instruments here are two printing, and the adawo, which is playing in speech mode rather than beating a steady rhythm.

The words of the song follow:

LEADER: Maki Bo ---, a weh Buza (alt., Bruza)

CH: a-heh ---, Maki-oh ---
a weh Buza, a-heh ---

(LEADER: Maki Bo ---, where is Buza

CH: a-heh ---, Maki-oh ---
where is Buza, a-heh ---)

Ritual specialists state that this song is about three Maroon brothers who lived a long time ago. (One of the brothers was called Maki Bo, and another Buza.) All of the brothers were Kromanti specialists. The third brother, who was an accomplished drummer, outlived both Maki Bo and Buza. The song recalls a time when this brother was attacked by a spirit power and had to fight desperately for his life. It is said that he used this very song to call on the spirits of his deceased brothers for help during this time of crisis. One of his brothers' spirits then possessed him and helped to effect his cure.

This particular song is considered one of the most important of all Maroon songs. I was told that it is the very first of the Prapa songs traditionally sung in opening a serious Kromanti ceremony.

IBO (Side 1, Bands 12-13)

The category of Ibo, like Prapa, contains four primary songs, which are also part of the traditional opening song cycle in Kromanti dance. All of these primary songs are backed with the same drumming style. Ibo songs are said to have a great deal of power.

Ibo (or Igbo) is the name of a large ethnic group in Southeastern Nigeria.

Side 1, Band 12 - Ibo: The drumming style used to accompany Ibo songs is particularly interesting. As can be heard in this recording, this style is based on a subdivision of the basic pulse into rapid triplets (resembling, in effect, a rapid-tempo compound duple or quadruple meter).

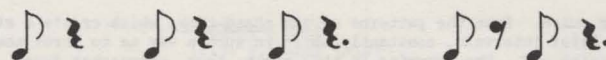
I was given no translation for the words, which may be rendered as follows:

LEADER: jo leh-oh, jo leh leh
si mi awu

CH: jo leh ---, jo leh ---
jo leh ---, jo leh ---

LEADER: jo leh ---, jo leh---
jo jo leh, legonanan-eh, etc

This song is a personal spirit song; that is, it is the song of a particular Maroon ancestor, and it can be sung specifically to invoke his spirit.

Side 1, Band 13 - Ibo: This song was classified by most specialists as an Ibo song, although it is not one of the four primary songs in this category. The drumming style associated with this song is quite different from that which goes with other Ibo songs. It is clearly in duple time (including subdivisions of the primary pulse). In this example, the supporting drum begins to play alone, and then is joined by the lead drum shortly before the chorus enters. The abaso-tick plays here a rhythmic pattern which is shared by many styles of contemporary African-influenced music such as salsa, highlife, and calypso. It is the rhythmic pattern which has come to be known in Latin music as "clave" (after the instrument on which it is typically played):

While the abaso-tick occasionally varies from this pattern, it always eventually returns to it. Meanwhile, the supporting drummer achieves a good deal of tonal variety while accompanying this pattern by playing on different areas of the head. The song is also accompanied by kwat and adawo.

The words of the song are approximately as follows:

CH: eh ---, siyumande ---
siyu Kwajo ---, siyumande ---

LEADER: eh ---, Ibo man-eh
siyumande ---, siyumande ---, etc.

I was given no explanation of the meaning of this text. Several older Maroons claimed that "siyumande" has a double meaning. On the one hand, it can be used as a play on the English creole words "see you man deh" ("look at your man there," or "there is your man"); on the other hand, several Maroons insisted that it is really a Kromanti term with no English translation. The song is considered to be one of the "higher," more powerful songs.

DRUM LANGUAGE (Side 2, Bands 1-2)

The Moore Town Maroons are able to communicate not only with the abeng, but also with the Kromanti drums (printing). As in many parts of Africa (and also among the maroons, or "Bush Negroes," of Suriname), drums are used to send complex signals based on a system of discrete tones. During the time of war, it is said, the Kromanti drums, like the abeng, were used for strategic purposes. Nowadays, the drum "language" is used at the beginning of Kromanti Play to invite Maroons from the surrounding area to participate and to let them know that a ceremony is about to commence. (When a drummer plays signals on his instrument in this way, he is said to "yanda" his drum.) The drum "language" is said to have several other applications as well. One of the most important is invocation and communication with the spirits of ancestors.

The drum "language" is kept a strict secret. Nowadays, very few younger Maroons are familiar with it; in fact, only a few older Maroons understand a significant amount. And the really "deep" knowledge is restricted to a few specialists (printing-man).

Drum "language," like both abeng "language" and spoken Kromanti, is sometimes referred to as Country.

Side 2, Bands 1-2 - Drum Language: These two selections feature two different printing-man playing Country. (When Country is played independently of a music/dance context a single drum is used.) Both of these players are considered expert drummers within the community.

Since drum "language" is considered highly sacred and inaccessible to non-Maroons, I was not given the opportunity to write down any texts. Although I was fortunate enough to tape record a few fragmentary verbal demonstrations of this drum "language" (in conjunction with actual drumming), I was not able to learn the general principles behind it, and am not able to offer a text for the examples above.

KROMANTI (COUNTRY) (Side 2, Bands 3-4)

The word Kromanti has several musical meanings. It is often used to refer to the complete corpus of songs, both "lighter" and more powerful, performed at Kromanti Play. Thus, even a Jawbone may sometimes be spoken of as a Kromanti song. But there is also a separate category of songs known as Kromanti (more commonly called Country). In terms of spiritual power, the songs of this category are at the very pinnacle of Maroon music. Country songs are held very sacred and treated with the utmost respect. These songs can spark possession within seconds. Not only this, but they can summon the most distant Maroon ancestors, who lived during the time of war, to offer their aid during periods of crisis. If a Kromanti dancer (fete-man) is having difficulty with a case (such as healing a spirit-illness), he will usually resort to a number of Country songs for added strength. There are a large number of such Country songs.

It is interesting to note that Kumina cultists use the word "Country" in a way which parallels the Maroon usage, to refer to their most powerful, non-English category of songs; see, for instance the LP record recorded and edited by Edward Seaga, Folk Music of Jamaica (New York: Folkways 4453, 1956). The Kumina "Country" songs, however, are primarily in the Kikongo language of Central Africa, whereas most Maroon Country songs are in the Kromanti ritual language, which is derived largely from the Akan language-group of West Africa (there are a few exceptions, such as the example in Band 3, which is in "deep" creole).

The style of drumming which accompanies Kromanti songs is remarkable. While the singers chant the melody slowly and fluidly, the two printing play in speech mode simultaneously. The result is explosive. The rhythm of the drums is controlled by the dictates of speech rather than the demands of interlocking structure which characterize normal musical performance. The drums "talk" while the singers sing. (Much of the time, the drums are not actually "saying" anything, but are simply playing in speech mode, as if they were.) Because of this, in performances of Country songs there is no shared pulse underlying all the parts. The song shares no steady pulse with the drums, and in fact, the two drums themselves share no consistent

underlying pulse. Even the patterns of the abaso-tick, which create a steady pulse for brief intervals, constantly shift in such a way as to throw the apparent pulse off. The drumming in this style, thus, approaches free rhythm. (It is not possible to tap the foot in steady time to it, although it certainly is possible to dance to it -- as Kromanti dancers must.)

This combination of chant with speech-mode drumming is found also among the Akan of Ghana, particularly the Fanti, who make use of it in the ceremonies of asafo (the warrior associations). But in the Fanti tradition the instrumental accompaniment is limited to a single drum (oprenteng) (Abraham K. Adzinyah, personal communication; Mr. Adzinyah is himself a Fanti master drummer). As in Maroon Kromanti, the Fanti master drummer (in asafo) plays with one hand and one stick, in a way which is very similar to how the abaso-tick is used. Most often, traditional proverbs are played on the drum as accompaniment to the singing.

The Kromanti style may be unique in the New World, although there are certain close parallels in some of the music of Haitian Vodun, and of the Suriname Maroons. The idea of music as "speech" -- a primary characteristic of the Maroon Kromanti style -- may represent a fundamental, deep-level feature of African music which has survived in Afro-American musical traditions throughout the New World. From the "cassés" of Haitian ritual music (rhythmic disruptions played by the master drummer) to the speech-like instrumental phrasings found in much North American jazz, there seems to be a shared emphasis on the paralinguistic capacities of music. Viewed from this perspective, the Maroon Kromanti style takes on special significance, for it constitutes one of the few remaining Afro-American traditions (along with some Suriname maroon styles) in which the direct linkage between musical structure and an actual, spoken African-derived language-form has been retained. In this sense, this Maroon tradition, with its explicit encoding of speech into music, serves to highlight an important dimension in the underlying unity of African and Afro-American musical forms.

Side 2, Band 3 - Country: The similarity between the drumming in this selection and the drum "language" of the previous two examples should be readily apparent. The main difference is that the speech mode is here being employed as accompaniment to song and dance, and the "language" is not limited to the signalling of a single drum but is being played on both drums simultaneously, by two different players. (Also important is the fact that the abaso-tick is used.)

At first, in this example, one of the drummers plays alone, but soon he is joined by the other, who uses the abaso-tick. After the first chorus the abaso-tick drops out, and the first drummer once again plays alone. Part way through the second chorus the abaso-tick is added once again, and continues playing until the end of the song.

The words of the song were given to me as follows:

LEADER: biamba-oh, mi no si wan da-eh
oh Shedo, poor Nana Shedo, si wan dako man-eh

CH: oh Shedo ---, si wan da-eh ---
hamba-eh ---, si wan da-eh ---
oh Shedo ---, poor Nana Shedo ---
wan dako ya-eh ---

LEADER: oh ---, si wan da-eh
seh yeri mi now-oh, you no si mi ya-eh
Shedo, poor Nana Shedo
si wan dako man-eh

(LEADER: biamba-oh, I don't see one here
oh Shedo, poor Nana Shedo, see one boy child

CH: oh Shedo, see one here
amba, see one here
oh Shedo, poor Nana Shedo
one child here

LEADER: oh, see one here
hear me now, don't you see me here

Shedo, poor Nana Shedo
see one boy child)

This beautiful song has a deep and poignant meaning for Maroons. It is said by some Maroons that the song grew out of an incident which occurred during the days when the Maroons were at war with the British. A Maroon woman by the name of Shedo was running through the forest with her child on her back. Some British soldiers had discovered her presence and were giving chase. During her frantic flight her child dropped off her back and fell into the surrounding foliage. (In some variants of the legend, Shedo drops her child in the bush purposefully, for she knows that its cries would give her location away.) She was unable to retrieve her child, for to turn back would have meant certain capture. Although the British finally gave up pursuit, night soon fell, and Shedo was not able to locate the child. For a long time he remained lost in the woods, managing somehow to stay alive. One day the child began to sing out this Country song, taught to him by a spirit, and finally was heard by some Maroons passing by. And so, at last, mother and child were reunited.

("Nana" is a respectful term, derived from West Africa, used in addressing a respected elder; in Akan, it is a reciprocal kinship term, meaning grandparent/grandchild.)

This song is considered one of the most powerful Maroon songs, and serves as an emotionally potent reminder of the trials which faced the Maroon ancestors during their war against the British colonists. (The Moore Town Maroons also have another, related Kromanti song in which a Maroon woman calls out to a child she has lost in the woods, named Keto.)

Side 2, Band 4 - Country: In this selection, both drums (including the abaso-tick on one) are played in speech mode throughout. The adawo is also played in speech mode, and the kwat is present as well.

The words of the song are in Kromanti and may be transcribed as follows:

CH: oh --- yo - sei janko ---
impraba Kofi anabo ---
anabo yedeng

LEADER: anabo --- oh anabo yedeng Kwajo
anabo, anabo yedeng Kwajo
yo-sei jansa simpong bofu anabo-eh

The song is associated with a particular legend about a Maroon fete-man who pitted his powers against an escaped slave, a powerful obeah-man (ritual specialist, or sorceror). (After the peace treaties of 1739 the Maroons were required, in exchange for the privileges granted them, to track down and capture all later fugitives from the slave plantations.) This particular runaway slave (usually said to have been a Mandinga man) was very clever with obeah (spirit power). Whenever the Maroon trackers began to chase him he would run to a particular spot and become invisible. Bullets seemed to pass right through him. One very powerful Maroon specialist wanted to capture this Mandinga man to turn him over to Bakra (the British). This Maroon man decided to use his own power to foil that of his slave opponent. Through divination, he discovered that the Mandinga man kept the source of his power (a small object) hidden in the branches of a particular tree. (According to some storytellers, this tree was called "anabo.") Whenever he ran to the tree he would disappear. When the Maroon found out about his opponent's trick, he used a charm of his own to counteract it. The next time the Mandinga slave fled from his pursuers to his special spot, his obeah failed him. The Maroon specialist was victorious, and the Mandinga man was captured.

This song is also considered one of the most powerful of all Maroon songs.

FIGURE 13. M.L. Wright, Colonel of the Accompong Maroons, displays the *gumbe* of Accompong. (Photograph: K. Bilby)

CHARLES TOWN

(Side 2, Bands 5-6)

It appears that in Charles Town the Kromanti dance tradition is moribund. Ceremonies are held very rarely, and only a handful of persons are capable of playing the drums properly. The persons performing on these selections were specially assembled for this recording.

From the accounts of elders it appears that the Kromanti tradition of Charles Town once very closely resembled that of Moore Town. The esoteric Kromanti language was almost the same, and many songs were shared by the two communities; there were numerous other similarities as well. In fact, it is said that Maroons from the two communities used to travel back and forth often to participate in each other's ceremonies.

Songs were once categorized and named according to the same "tribes" as in Moore Town, and were associated with specific drumming styles. However, this aspect of the Kromanti tradition survives today only in very fragmentary form.

The instrumental ensemble in Charles Town consists of two drums (grandy and gumbe); a piece of bamboo used for percussion, as in Moore Town, called kwat; and a metal implement also used for percussion (usually a machete or a pitchfork), known as adawa. The grandy is the same in basic design as the printing of Moore Town, and is considered "female." The gumbe is shaped something like a bench (quite similar to the gumbe of Accompong, except more rectangular, and with two instead of four legs), and is considered "male." Both the grandy and gumbe are single-headed and played with the hands. The latter functions as the leading drum, and the former provides support.

Side 2, Band 5 - Recreational Song: In Charles Town, as in Moore Town, there is a large group of "lighter" songs which are used primarily for recreational dancing. Most of these songs are backed by one and the same style of drumming. (Although a few older Maroons can recall the existence in the past of a set of different drumming styles associated with particular "tribes" -- among them Prapa, Mandinga, and Ibo -- these different styles, with one or two exceptions, have been forgotten by present-day players.) Apart from Kromanti songs, virtually all Charles Town songs are played in the same style as that heard in this selection (sometimes spoken of as "Jawbone.")

The instruments played in this selection are the gumbe, the grandy, the kwat, and adawa.

The words of the song follow:

CH: follow me

LEADER: lawd naka nakunde
gone a riverside
gone fe go ketch busu
roun' de rock me gone
ah, now me gone, etc.

(LEADER: lawd naka nakunde
gone to the riverside
gone to go catch busu
round the rock I've gone
ah, now I've gone),etc.

The song is about going to collect busu, a type of edible fresh-water snail which can be found clinging to rocks, and which is considered something of a delicacy in rural Jamaica (particularly in Maroon areas).

Side 2, Band 6 - Kromanti: As in Moore Town, the songs which have the greatest power in invoking spirits are Kromanti. Although the actual signalling "language" of the drums has been forgotten in Charles Town, and the spoken ritual language known as Kromanti is remembered only by a very few elders, the Kromanti style of drumming is still very clearly based on a speech mode. The lack of a consistent underlying pulse marks the style as a close relative to the Kromanti (Country) style of Moore Town. The similarity between the two is immediately obvious to the ear. (One important difference, however, is that abaso-tick is never used in Charles Town.)

The instruments in the selection are gumbe, grandy, and adawa.
The words follow:

LEADER: come go da river
CH: oh jo ade
L: come go da river
CH: oh jo ade
L and CH: oh dedi bi ankama
jo ade

The meaning of the Kromanti words in this song seems to have been lost. The same song is sung as a Kromanti at Scott's Hall, and a quite different variant of the song is found in Moore Town (where it is a Prapa, and is performed in Prapa style). In Moore Town it is said that the song refers to the period before the treaty when the British, despairing over their inability to subdue the Maroons with sheer force, brought packs of blood-hounds into the forest in an effort to track the rebels down one by one. The Maroons were able to escape their pursuers, it is said, by systematically crossing and re-crossing a series of rivers and streams, thus causing the hounds to lose their scent repeatedly.

SCOTT'S HALL

(Side 2, Bands 7-10)

Kromanti dance survives in Scott's Hall and continues to carry a good deal of importance there, although it seems to be in the process of declining. It bears many similarities to the Moore Town and Charles Town versions and shares a number of songs with them. The Kromanti language is also very similar (particularly to that of Charles Town), and the specialist is known, as in Moore Town, as fete-man.

Aside from those in the Jawbone group, songs are said to be connected with four "tribes" (or "countries"): Prapa, Mandinga, Ibo, and Kromanti. However, actual classifications of specific songs are even more ambiguous than in Moore Town. The concept of "tribal" affiliation of songs remains strong, yet there is virtually no consensus on which songs belong to which category. Although there are different drumming styles for each of the tribes, the majority of songs in Scott's Hall today are backed by what is usually referred to as Mandinga style (there is apparently little difference between the drumming of Mandinga and Jawbone).

As in Moore Town, there is a traditional song cycle used to open Kromanti Play, but in Scott's Hall the complete cycle contains only four songs altogether, all of them classified as Kromanti.

In Scott's Hall the instrumental ensemble used in Kromanti dance is comprised of two drums (grandy and gumbe); a kwat, similar to the instrument used in Moore Town and Charles Town; and a machete used for percussion, called "iron." The grandy (considered "female") is essentially of the same design as the printing of Moore Town, but slightly shorter in length. The gumbe (considered "male") is the same in design as the gumbe of Charles Town. The grandy is sometimes alternatively referred to as "monkey," and the gumbe as "salimam." The former is used as supporting drum and the latter as lead drum.

Side 2, Band 7 - Mandinga: Although it is generally agreed that the majority of songs from Scott's Hall are backed by the Mandinga drumming style, there is a good deal of disagreement over the categories to which individual songs themselves belong. Most persons said that this song is a Mandinga, but a few individuals insisted that it is a Prapa, and others still called it a Jawbone. In any case, the drumming style is Mandinga. It is interesting to note that this style bears certain very strong similarities to Kumina drumming.

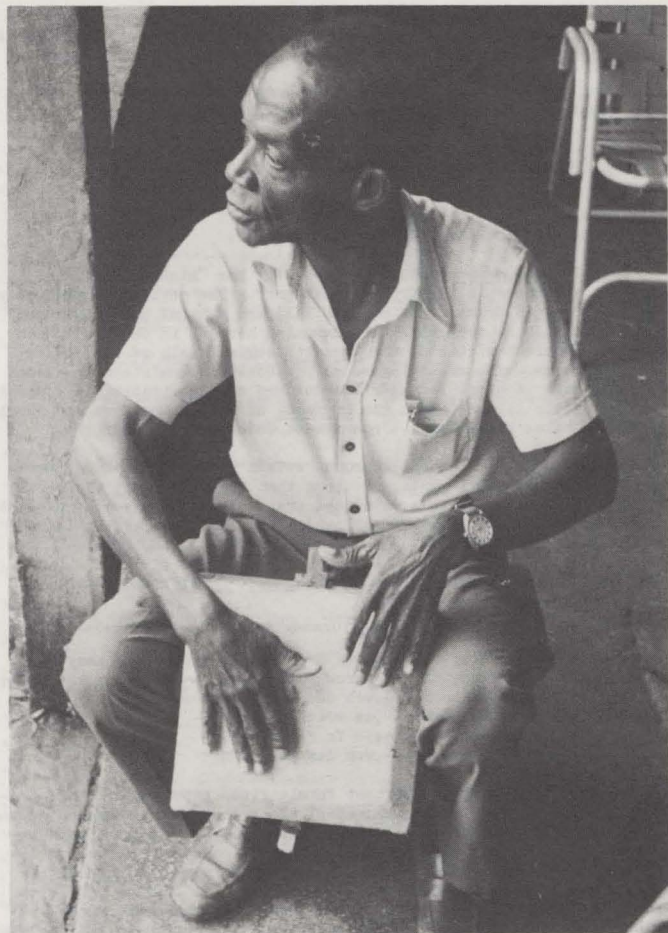



FIGURE 14. Colonel Wright demonstrates the proper playing position for the *gumbe*. (Photograph: K. Bilby)

The instruments played here are gumbe (salimam), grandy, and kwat.

The words of the song:

1st LEADER: ba wiri-eh, ba wiri-oh, sankoma hamba jeiki
gyal, a weh dem deh-eh (girl, where are they)

2nd LEADER: ba wiri-oh, sankoma hamba jeiki-oh
good morning-oh

I was given no explanation of this song's meaning. The song is obviously related to the Mandinga song from Moore Town which is heard on Side 1, Band 10. The term "ba" is used by Maroons of all communities as a fond term of address preceding an individual's name -- as in "Ba Joe," which is roughly the equivalent of "Brother Joe." The use of the term in this song may indicate that the song was originally about a Maroon man named "Wiri." But this must remain conjecture, for I found no one who claimed knowledge of the song's meaning.

Weaving in and out of the recording can be heard the voice of a possessed man, who is speaking in the Maroon "spirit language."

Side 2, Band 8 - Mandinga: Most persons agree that this is a Mandinga song and, as was the last example, it is backed by Mandinga drumming.

The instruments are gumbe, grandy, and kwat.

The words are:

LEADER: ninibo
CH: oh duppy

"Duppy" is a word used throughout Jamaica to mean "ghost," or "spirit." "Ninibo" is one of a number of words from Kromanti language used to mean "earth," or "the ground" (it is also used, by extension, to mean "grave"). (The equivalent in Moore Town is "minibo.")

Close listening will reveal that a number of the singers in this selection make use of rudimentary hocketing techniques, repeating one or two pitches at the same point in the song every time it comes around.

During this recording two Maroons were possessed by spirits and their shouts can be heard over the music.

This particular song is one of the more powerful Scott's Hall songs.

Side 2, Band 9 - Mandinga: This is also backed by Mandinga drumming; the players on this recording are different from those on the last two selections. The line-up of instruments remains the same: gumbe, grandy, and kwat.

The song appears to be related to the song from Moore Town on Side 1, Band 13, as evidenced by the similarity of its chorus:

siyumande --, siyumande --
siyumande yo yo, siyumande --

The meaning behind the song is unclear, but it is considered powerful and can be used for the invocation of spirits.

Side 2, Band 10 - Kromanti: As in Moore Town, the "highest" songs in Scott's Hall are those in the Kromanti category. The stylistic similarity between the Kromanti drumming of Scott's Hall and that of Moore Town and Charles Town should be apparent. The drumming here is in obvious speech mode, a basic characteristic of the Kromanti style in all of the eastern Maroon communities. The resulting sound possesses an unmistakable Maroon flavor which sets it apart from African-derived musical traditions found in other parts of the island (as in the Kromanti of both Moore Town and Charles Town, this drumming style lacks a consistent underlying pulse).

Even though the Scott's Hall Maroons retain the speech-mode drumming which accompanies Kromanti songs, it seems that they have lost the actual tradition of drum language as a method of transmitting messages (apparently this has been retained only in Moore Town). They do, however, still make use of the "abeng language."

The instruments in this selection are gumbe, grandy, and kwat.

The words are as follows: CH: Grandy Nanny-oh---, ya yeh--

L : Grandy Nanny-oh ---, weh dem deh --- (where are they)
Grandy Nanny-oh ---, grow pon hill-oh -- (grow on the hill)
Grandy Nanny-oh ---,weh dem deh --
Grandy Nanny-oh ---,de voice call-oh --
Grandy Nanny-oh ---,jo fa river --
Grandy Nanny-oh ---,weh dem deh --

Grandy Nanny was a very important female ritual specialist (and, present-day Maroons contend, military leader) among the eastern Maroons during the eighteenth century. No other single figure plays so great a part in Maroon oral tradition as Nanny. Numerous legends have been passed on detailing her awesome spiritual powers. Today Grandy Nanny is the culture heroine of the eastern Maroons. (Both Moore Town and Charles Town also have songs in honor of her.) In 1975 the Jamaican government, recognizing her historical importance, declared her a National Hero. Since then, a monument in her honor has been erected in Moore Town.

The song presented here is one of the most important Scott's Hall songs. Traditionally it was the very first song to be sung at any Kromanti Play; it was used to formally open such ceremonies.

ACCOMPONG

(Side 2, Bands 11-13)

Accompong is the sole remaining Leeward Maroon community in Jamaica. Isolated from the three Windward communities by a distance of more than a hundred miles, it is the home of a Kromanti tradition which clearly differs from those found in the eastern villages. It appears that the Kromanti musical tradition of Accompong lacks the stylistic diversity found in Moore Town and, to a lesser extent, the other communites. There remains no clear evidence that songs were once categorized according to "tribal" affiliations, and it seems that at present all songs, except the a capella Kromanti songs, are backed by the same basic style of drumming (although this cannot be stated with certainty, since it is possible that there are other surviving aspects of the tradition to which I was unable to gain access).

In Accompong very few traditional ritual specialists continue to practice and they are not known by the name fete-man. Spirit possession, or myal, also appears to take a quite different form in Accompong than in the eastern communities. But in spite of the differences marking the traditions of the Leeward and Windward Maroons, there remain also several important links. Although the estoreric Kromanti language has been almost completely lost in Accompong, what remains of it is very similar to the eastern Kromanti. And in the realm of music, there are a few very suggestive details relating the music of the Leewards to that of the Windwards. There are a few songs sung in Accompong which are clearly related to songs still found in the Windward communities. And some of the characteristic rhythmic patterns played on the gumbe drum of Accompong hint strongly at a connection with the Jawbone style as played in Moore Town.

KROMANTI (Side 2, Band 11)

In Accompong, at least at present, Kromanti songs have a very different function than in the other Maroon communities. They are not performed in the context of ceremonial dance (although it is possible they once were), and they are not sung for the purpose of invoking spirits to come and possess the living. For these purposes, the Maroons of Accompong have a different body o songs on which they rely (the same sort of songs used for processions -- as in Band 13).

The Kromanti songs of Accompong are associated primarily with gravedigging and burial. When a grave is being made for a deceased Maroon it is customary for the gravediggers to stop working at some point, pour libations over it, and sing a number of Kromanti songs. This ceremony is essential to the proper preparation of a grave. It is meant to honor the departed, and to hasten the reunion of his or her spirit with the other Maroon ancestors. (I was told that the same ceremony is also sometimes performed at the actual burial, although some persons denied this and insisted that only "Christian hymns" are sung at funerals or burials.)

Since Kromanti songs have such a specific function, they are not known very well by members of the community at large; the gravediggers of Accompong are the primary keepers of the tradition. But it should be noted that the Kromanti songs are also sung by the wider community once a year during the January celebrations in honor of Kojo (Cudjoe), the great Maroon hero of the eighteenth century. It is said that at this time the songs are sung over the grave of Kojo (some say Accompong) in a ceremony which has traditionally been closed to the public.

Interestingly, in none of the eastern Maroon communities are Kromanti songs associated with gravedigging or funerals.

Side 2, Band 11 - Kromanti: Kromanti songs, as in this example, are always performed a capella in Accompong.

The singers in this selection are all gravediggers, but they are not performing here within the normal context. The men were assembled for a special session, during which time this recording was made.

The words of the song can be transcribed as follows:

LEADER: a mini wai-eh, a mini wai-eh
CH: sheiki abraye ---
L: a mini wai-oh, a mini wai-eh
CH: sheiki abraye ---
L: sei-oh tei-oh
L and CHORUS: yeko teko
yampang shai-eh ---
L: sei-oh tei-oh
L and CHORUS: yeko teko
yampang shai-eh ---

L and CHORUS: ay-ah ---, ay-eh ---
ay-ah ---, ay-eh ---
osei-oh
yeko teko
a pa sha-eh

I was unable to elicit meanings for any of these words in Accompong. It is very interesting to note, however, that ritual specialists in Moore Town use the word "obraye" (note "abraye" above) to refer to a type of garment (similar to a loincloth) which, it is said, was traditionally used to dress the corpse of a Maroon before burial. Some traditionalists state that, even today, if a Maroon is buried without an "obraye" his or her "soul" will not rise up to God (Yankipong) as it should, but will remain earthbound like a duppy (the other component in a person's spiritual makeup, which normally stays in the grave).

There is another intriguing bit of information concerning this song: the very same song was heard by the anthropologist and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston during the 1930's in the context of a Kumina ceremony which took place in the eastern parish of St. Thomas. (See her book, Tell My Horse, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1938, p. 75.) What makes Hurston's report so interesting is the fact that this Kromanti song which she heard at the Kumina ceremony does not appear to be known in any of the eastern Maroon communities; certainly it is not sung or known by present-day Kumina groups themselves. Thus the question arises as to whether any of those among the Maroons who participated in the ceremony Hurston witnessed (it was a joint Maroon/Kumina effort) had come all the way from the western community of Accompong. This is a matter of no little interest, for although ceremonial interaction and ritual exchange between eastern Maroons and Kumina groups has been common in the past, there is little evidence other than the presence of this Kromanti song in Hurston's report that would suggest the existence of a similar tradition of interaction between the St. Thomas Kumina groups and the more distant western Maroons. Perhaps Hurston was fortunate enough to stumble upon a one-of-a-kind visit by the Accompong Maroons. Unfortunately, in the absence of further information the question must remain unanswered.

SOLO SONG (Side 2, Band 12)

Some people in Accompong remember Maroon songs which were long ago taught to them by older Maroons -- songs which are not part of a public ceremonial tradition, but which have been passed down from individual to individual. Such songs have no explicit ritual or ceremonial function, and they are not known (at least at present) by the general community.

Side 2, Band 12 - Solo Song: The man who asked me to record this song stated that he had learned it years ago from his grandmother. The words can be transcribed as follows:

ingia mayongo	embia mayongo	embia mayongo
behave o yo	behave o yo	behave o yo
ingi mengo	embi yongo	engi mengo
behave o yong'e	behave o yongo	behave o yongo
nenge, Nanny call for	nenge, Nanny call for	nenge, Nanny call for

Although the singer was able to provide no exact glosses for any of these words, he explained that the song was sung by Grandy Nanny shortly after the completion of the peace treaties in 1739 in order to urge all the different groups of Maroons to come together in unity, put down their arms, and obey the terms of the pact.

The words of the song may well be derived in part from Kikongo, the language of the BaKongo people of Central Africa. When the Zairean scholar Fu-Kiau kia Bunseki (himself a native speaker of Kikongo) heard this recording for the first time, his reaction was that the words were not from Kikongo but were certainly derived from a related Bantu language. On second hearing he concluded that some of the words were most likely of Kikongo origin, but that they had undergone change. The first line, he suggested, is probably derived from the correct Kikongo phrase "inkia mayongo," which can be roughly translated as "what a wonderful gathering of people" ("mayongo" is the plural form of "yongo," an esoteric word meaning a large ritual gathering of people, as for an initiation). In the following verses, the first line is slightly changed to "embia mayongo," which Fu-Kiau believes is derived from the correct Kikongo "empila mayongo." The third line ("ingi mengo"), it appears, is an inversion of the correct Kikongo phrase "menga mayingi," meaning "many bloods," or "mixed blood" ("ingi" = "many"; "menga" = "blood"). This expression can be used to mean "mixed peoples."

A rough translation of the song, according to Fu-Kiau, might thus run as follows:

what a wonderful gathering of people!
behave o yo
many bloods
behave, o people
this Nanny has called for

This translation certainly meshes well with the general interpretation of the song offered by the singer.

The presence of a song such as this among the Accompong Maroons is quite significant, for it contrasts with the position taken by most past scholars that the African linguistic component of the Maroon heritage is virtually completely Akan-derived. This song indicates that further research might very well uncover a more complex picture.

PROCESSIONAL MUSIC (Side 2, Band 13)

This is the sort of music which is performed at public ceremonial occasions of the Accompong Maroons. It is unclear to what extent this music remains tied to a traditional ritual dance complex, but it appears that at one time it was the music for a Maroon ceremonial dance which resembled in some respects the Kromanti dance traditions of the eastern Maroons. At present, I was told, this music is performed only once a year during the January celebrations, when the traditional instruments are brought out of storage. The music accompanies the dancing and celebration to which the general public is invited, out by a large cotton tree in the center of a clearing on the edge of the village. At times the music precipitates spirit possession in the dancers, which can be taken as further evidence that in the past it was associated with a well-defined, coherent ceremonial complex through which the ancestors participated in solving the problems of day-to-day village life.

Side 2, Band 13 - Processional Music: This recording was made on the night before the annual celebration of January (1978). The Maroons traditionally gather to dance and sing the old songs for themselves on the night before the celebration. On the following day thousands of outsiders, including foreign tourists, flock to Accompong to witness the old Maroon traditions. The celebration is advertised throughout the island, and it draws heavily. On this day the Maroons repeat for their visitors the music and songs which they perform amongst themselves the night before.

The instruments used in this music are essentially the same as those used in the fife-and-drum ensembles (minus the fife) which accompany Jonkonnu dancing, and also in Revival churches in many parts of Jamaica: a large two-headed bass drum, and one or two smaller two-headed side drums, the former beaten with a padded stick and the latter played with a pair of wooden sticks. There is an important difference, however, in that a traditional Maroon drum, the gumbe (goombay), has been added to the otherwise typical Revival/Johkonnu ensemble. This instrument, somewhat similar to the gumbes of Scott's Hall and Charles Town, is shaped like a small, square stool with four legs. The goatskin head is tightened by means of wedges driven into the frame. This drum is played with the palms and fingers of both hands (See Figures 13 and 14).

The drumming in this selection appears to represent a case of syncretism between old European military drumming traditions (with possible influences from Jonkonnu and Revival-style drumming) and African-based elements from an older traditional Maroon style. Against the pulse of the bass drum and the continual rolling of the side drums, the gumbe plays a series of "cutting" rhythms which give the music a unique flavor. The gumbe can be heard particularly clearly in the latter part of this recording, in which it plays some rhythmic patterns reminiscent of the Jawbone style of "cutting" from Moore Town. Also interesting is the way one of the side drummers every once in a while plays on the rim of the drum variations of the rhythmic pattern known in Latin music as the "clave beat." The blowing of the abeng can be heard in the background, weaving in and out of the music. (The Accompong Maroons, unlike those of Moore Town, have apparently lost the ability to blow specific messages on the abeng, and nowadays primarily use the instrument for pleasure and as a symbol of Maroon identity.)

The chorus of the song is as follows:

oh -- oy-eh-doh, oy-eh-doh
oh -- oy-eh-doh, oy-eh-doh
oh -- oy-eh-doh, oy-eh-doh
'Quire Smith no gi me noting-oh
good mornin'-oh

(Squire Smith gave me nothing
good morning)

The leader is barely audible between choruses, as she sings:

whole a night me ina macca
(all night I've been in prickles -- i.e., trouble)

The song is topical, a recounting of a past event. "Oy-eh-doh" is a stylized representation of the way people traditionally call out to one another across the hills in Jamaica.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barrett, Leonard E.
1976 The Drum and the Sun. Kingston and London: Sangster and Heinnemann.

Baxter, Ivy
1970 The Arts of an Island. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press.

Beckwith, Martha W.
1929 Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaican Folk Life. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Bilby, Kenneth M.
1979 Partisan Spirits: Ritual Interaction and Maroon Identity in Eastern Jamaica. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

Bilby, Kenneth M.
1980 Jamaica's Maroons at the Crossroads. Caribbean Review 9(4): 18-49.

Bilby, Kenneth M.
1981 The Kromanti Dance of the Windward Maroons of Jamaica. Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 55(1).

Brathwaite, Edward Kamau
1977 Wars of Respect: Nanny and Sam Sharpe. Kingston: Agency for Public Information.

Campbell, Mavis
1973 The Maroons of Jamaica: Imperium in Imperio? Pan-African Journal 6(1): 45-56.

Campbell, Mavis
1977 Marronage in Jamaica: Its Origins in the Seventeenth Century. In Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies, Vera Rubin and Arthur Tudun (eds.). New York: New York Academy of Sciences, pp. 389-419.

Carey, Beverley
n.d. A History of the Maroon Peoples of Jamaica. Kingston: Institute of Jamaica (in press).

Cassidy, Frederic G.
1971 Jamaica Talk: Three Hundred Years of the English Language in Jamaica, second edition. London: Macmillan and Co.

Clerk, Astley
1975 Extract from "The Music and Musical Instruments of Jamaica". Jamaica Journal 9(2-3): 59-67.

Dalby, David
1971 Ashanti Survivals in the Language and Traditions of the Windward Maroons of Jamaica. African Language Studies 12: 31-51.

Dallas, Robert Charles
1803 The History of the Maroons. London: T. N. Longman and O. Rees.

Dunham, Katherine
1946 Journey to Accompong. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Edwards, Bryan
1796 Observations on the Disposition, Character, Manners, and Habits of Life of the Maroons. London: John Stockdale.

Hall, Beverley and Cheryl Ryman
1976 Maroon Drumming. Jamaica Journal 10(1): 3.

Hurston, Zora Neale
1938 Tell My Horse. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.

Kopytoff, Barbara K.
1973 The Maroons of Jamaica: An Ethnohistorical Study of Incomplete Polities, 1655-1905. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Kopytoff, Barbara K.
1976 The Development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity. Caribbean Quarterly 22(2-3): 33-50.

Kopytoff, Barbara K.
1976 Jamaican Maroon Political Organization: The Effects of the Treaties. Social and Economic Studies 25: 87-105.

Kopytoff, Barbara K.
1978 The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies. The William and Mary Quarterly, 3d series, 35: 287-307.

Le Page, R. B. and David De Camp
1960 Jamaican Creole. London: Macmillan and Co.

Lewin, Olive
n.d. From the Grassroots of Jamaica. Kingston: Dynamic Sounds (LP record).

Lewin, Olive
1970 Some Jamaican Folk Songs. Kingston: The Oxford Group Publishers.

Lewin, Olive
1973 Forty Folk Songs of Jamaica. Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat of the Organization of American States.

Martin, Leann
1973 Maroon Identity: Processes of Persistence in Moore Town. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Riverside.

McFarlane, Milton
1977 Cudjoe the Maroon. London: Allison and Busby.

Murray, Tom and John Gavall, eds.
1960 Twelve Folk Songs from Jamaica. London: Oxford University Press.

Patterson, Orlando
1970 Slavery and Slave Revolts: A Socio-historical analysis of the First Maroon War, 1655-1740. Social and Economic Studies 19: 289-325.

Price, Richard
1979 Maroon Societies, second edition. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Price, Richard and Sally Price
1977 Music from Saramaka: A Dynamic Afro-American Tradition. New York: Folkways Records and Service Corp., FE 4225 (LP record).

Price, Sally and Richard Price
1980 Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest. Los Angeles: University of California.

Roberts, Helen H.
1924 Some Drums and Drum Rhythms of Jamaica. Natural History 24: 241-251.

Roberts Helen H.
1926 Possible Survivals of African Song in Jamaica. Musical Quarterly 12: 340-358.

Robinson, Carey
1969 The Fighting Maroons of Jamaica. Kingston: William Collins and Sangster, Ltd.

Ryman, Cheryl
1980 The Jamaican Heritage in Dance: Developing a Traditional Typology. Jamaica Journal, no. 44: 2-14.

Schafer, Daniel Lee
1973 The Maroons of Jamaica: African Slave Rebels in the Caribbean. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Schuler, Monica
1980 "Alas, Alas, Kongo": A Social History of Indentured African Immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Scott, Clarissa, S.
1968 Cultural Stability in the Maroon Village of Moore Town, Jamaica. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton.

Seaga, Edward
1956 Folk Music of Jamaica. New York: Folways Records and Service Corp., FE 4453 (LP record).

Thompson, I.E.
1938 The Maroons of Moore Town. Anthropological Series of the Boston College Graduate School 3: 472-480.

Tuelon, Alan
1973 Nanny -- Maroon Chieftainess. Caribbean Quarterly 19: 20-27.

Whylie, Marjorie, ed.
1979 Heritage. Kingston: Agency for Public Information (two-record LP album).

Williams, Joseph J.
1938 The Maroons of Jamaica. Anthropological Series of the Boston College Graduate School 3: 379-471.

Wright, Philip
1970 War and Peace with the Maroons. Caribbean Quarterly 16 (1): 5-27.

FIGURE 7.

FIGURE 8.

FIGURE 9.

FIGURE 10.

FIGURES 7-12. A photographic sequence, taken during a public "Pleasure dance" in Moore Town, showing the close communication between musicians and dancers which is integral to *Kromanti Play*. Charles Aarons is on the "rolling drum", William Watson on "cutting drum," and to their right, "Job" plays the "iron". (Photographs: Jefferson Miller)

FIGURE 12.